

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 432

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SOFIA 2441

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, SCUL, BU

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION

REF: A) STATE 231043; B) SOFIA 2372; C) SOFIA 2277; D) STATE
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1. AFTER FURTHER THOUGHT ABOUT OUR NEXT DEMARCHE ON CSCE, AND HAVING STUDIED THE RETURNS FROM OTHER WARSAW PACT POSTS ON PERFORMANCE AND PROSPECTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, I WISH TO MODIFY TO SOME EXTENT THE RECOMMENDATION MADE IN REF C AND WHICH THE DEPARTMENT APPROVED IN REF D. THE MODIFICATION RELATES TO THE RELATIVE EMPHASIS PLACED ON THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE AS AGAINST THE MATTER OF WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION. I BELIEVE OUR INTERESTS HERE (AND PERHAPS ELSEWHERE) WILL BE BEST SERVED IN THROWING THE WEIGHT OF OUR EFFORTS, IN THE CSCE CONTEXT, ON WIDER DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

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2. ALTHOUGH VISITS AND REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES

ARE CLEARLY REQUIRED UNDER THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT, THIS IS NOT AN ISSUE WHOSE SOLUTION WILL MATERIALLY ENHANCE SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. EVEN IF ALL THE DIVIDED FAMILIES WERE REUNITED, WHICH AS EXPLAINED BELOW IS EXCEEDINGLY UNLIKELY, IT WOULD HAVE NO REAL EFFECT ON THE SOCIETIES OF THE EE COUNTRIES.

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF WE SUCCEED EVEN A LITTLE IN MAKING THE MORE CLOSED EE SOCIETIES SUCH AS BULGARIA SOMEWHAT MORE PERMEABLE TO WESTERN INFORMATION AND IDEAS, THIS WOULD BE A NET GAIN IN TERMS OF OUR SECURITY; FOR TO THE EXTENT THAT THE IDEOLOGICAL BELLIGERENCE AND ARROGANCE OF THOSE GOVERNMENTS HAS ANY PLAUSIBILITY TO THEIR PEOPLE IT IS TO A LARGE DEGREE A FUNCTION OF THE LATTER'S PROVINCIALISM AND LACK OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE WESTERN WORLD. NATURALLY ONE CANNOT AND MUST NOT IGNORE THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE, WHICH IS A GENUINE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM WHOSE RESOLUTION WILL CONTRIBUTE TO BETTER RELATIONS; BUT IN THEIR LONG-RANGE IMPORTANCE THE TWO ISSUES, DIVIDED FAMILIES AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, ARE NOT REALLY COMMENSURABLE, THE LATTER SEEMS VASTLY MORE IMPORTANT.

4. NOW, WHEN IT COMES TO THE DIVIDED FAMILY ISSUE, RETURNS FROM THE WP POSTS INDICATE TO ME THAT WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IS REALLY NOT SO MUCH THE REUNITING OF FAMILIES AS THE REUNITING OF THOSE FAMILIES WHICH ARE DIVIDED BECAUSE ONE MEMBER LEFT A COMMUNIST COUNTRY IN CONTRAVENTION OF ITS LAWS -- UNJUST LAWS, TO BE SURE. I TAKE IT THAT THERE REALLY IS NO MAJOR PROBLEM ABOUT REUNITING OTHER DIVIDED FAMILIES. THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT MAKES NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF DIVIDED FAMILIES BUT SUCH A DISTINCTION DOES SEEM TO BE MADE IN MOSCOW, PRAGUE, BUDAPEST, SOFIA, AND APPARENTLY TO SOME EXTENT ALSO IN WARSAW. (RESPONSES ARE NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR BECAUSE THE "CHECKLIST" DID NOT CALL FOR HIGHLIGHTING THIS ASPECT.)

5. THIS BEING SO, IT IS IN THE NATURE OF THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE THAT IT IS NOT LIKELY TO BE SETTLED ONCE

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AND FOR ALL FOR TWO REASONS: THE MORE RECENT THE ILLEGAL DEPARTURE OF A CITIZEN OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRY, THE MORE RELUCTANT THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE TO ALLOW HIS FAMILY TO FOLLOW HIM OR HER. AND ALSO BY THE NATURE OF THE ISSUE, EVEN IF ALL PRESENTLY PENDING CASES WERE WIPED OFF THE BOOKS, NEW ONES ARE BOUND TO ARISE. TO POINT THIS UP IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE ISSUE SHOULD NOT BE PRESSED. IT IS IMPORTANT IN OUR RELATIONS BECAUSE OF

ITS HUMANITARIAN NATURE, BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST, AND BECAUSE THE OBLIGATIONS (TO THE EXTENT THAT ONE CAN SPEAK OF OBLIGATIONS) ARE CLEARLY SPELLED OUT IN THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT. BUT IN THE AREA OF INFORMATION WE ARE MORE LIKELY TO MAKE GAINS, EVEN IF SLIGHT ONES, THAT BECOME ROUTINE. DIVIDED FAMILY CASES CANNOT BE ROUTINIZED BECAUSE THE HOST GOVT WILL CONSIDER EACH ONE SEPARATELY.

6. FROM THE LIMITED VANTAGE PROVIDED BY MY OWN CONSULTATIONS WITH NATO COLLEAGUES HERE, I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN THE WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT AND COOPERATION OF OUR ALLIES ON THE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUE. I FIND MOST OF THEM SKEPTICAL ABOUT ACCOMPLISHING MUCH ON THIS IN THE CSCE CONTEXT. THEY HAVE BEEN HAMMERING AND CHIPPING AWAY AT THIS ISSUE FOR A LONG TIME AND USUALLY OBTAIN, AS WE DO, RESULTS IN CONNECTION WITH HIGH-LEVEL VISITS AND ON INDIVIDUAL CASES. THEY DO NOT SEEM TO EXPECT MUCH FROM A CAMPAIGN DESIGNED TO OBTAIN A SWEEPING RESOLUTION. WE ARE MORE LIKELY, I THINK, TO GET SUPPORT OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS IN PRESSING FOR GREATER FREEDOM FOR THE PASSAGE OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS FROM THE WEST INTO THE SEMI-HERMETIC, SEMI-PARANOID SOCIETIES OF THE EAST.

7. IN LIGHT OF THE FOREGOING CONSIDERATIONS, I WOULD PROPOSE IN MY NEXT PRESENTATION TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO PLACE THE WEIGHT OF THE EFFORT ON THAT PORTION OF THE CSCE DOCUMENT WHICH IS HEADED "IMPROVEMENT OF THE CIRCULATION OF, ACCESS TO, AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION," NOTABLY THOSE PROVISIONS WHICH SPEAK OF "FACILITATING THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE DISSEMINATION, ON THEIR TERRITORY, OF NEWSPAPERS AND PRINTED PUBLICATIONS, PERIODICAL

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AND NON-PERIODICAL, FROM THE OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES." AS FOR THE DIVIDED FAMILY ISSUE, WHILE REFERRING TO CSCE I WOULD TREAT IT MORE AS A BILATERAL ISSUE. I WOULD POINT TO ZHIVKOV'S "COMMITMENT" TO DEPUTY SECRETARY INGERSOLL AND TO THE IMPORTANT EFFECT THAT SOLUTION, OR EVEN SUBSTANTIAL AMELIORATION, OF THIS SITUATION WOULD HAVE ON THE STATE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS; AND WOULD PRESS FOR SPEEDY REMOVAL OF THIS UNNECESSARY IRRITANT IN LINE WITH ZHIVKOV'S REMARK THAT IT COULD BE SETTLED IN SHORT ORDER.

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